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NATIONAL ACTION CHARTER
AND
THE RULES OF ACTION OF THE
PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL AND
NATIONALIST FRONT

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INTRODUCTION

The Revolutionary and liberation movement in the Arab Homeland in its various contingents and across its protracted militant march, suffered grave defeats and setbacks. From the vast, rich experience accompanied the various stages of its struggle, we may deduce many lessons forefronted by this fundamental fact: Among the paramount factors which secure the ability of Arab revolutionary movements to achieve victory is their consciousness of the role played by the joint action and by the alliance of their contingents. And that among the main factors which led to their defeats and setbacks is the inclination of their various contingents to pitch on secondary differences among themselves rather than on the principal contradiction existing between them, on one hand and imperialism, Zionism and reaction on the other.

The periods which are characterized by the rising tide of the masses in the Arab countries and by intensifying struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction as well as by the rising prestige of doctrines, slogans and revolutionary progressive practices are the very periods characterized by the inclination of various progressive and national forces towards cooperation among themselves within practical militant formulas and effective frontal forms. Also the periods of regress in the revolutionary tide which were marked by the blowing of the currents of counter-revolution and its dark regressive

ideas, and the multiplication of the imperialist, Zionist and Reactionary dangers on the Arab Revolutionary Movement and on the masses' liberational, progressive accomplishments, are the very periods marked by the severe unobjective conflicts between the patriotic, progressive sides in the Arab countries.

There is not a shred of doubt that the tendency towards the joint action and the co-operation among the parties to the national progressive movement in the Arab Homeland was a natural consequence to the heightened political and ideological standard among those parties and their intent to detonate the secondary contradictions among them was the reflection of a deterioration in this standard.

The June 5 defeat which inflicted the gravest setback upon Arab struggle had triggered the onset of a new stage that demands in the place of careful scientific study for the experiences undergone in the outgonig stage and a radical and bold check to its mistakes and aberrations and a genuine and decisive revolutionary action to get up on a new standard that rejects the realities of defeat and upturns the setback unto the course of victory.

The imperialist-Zionist onslaught on the Arab Nation on June 5, 1967, and the continuity and graveness of imperialist and Zionist aggression, and the intensification of the intrigues of the reactionary regimes against the Arab Liberation Movement has raised the contraction between the Arab Nation on

one hand and imperialism, Zionism and reactionary forces on the other hand to extreme degrees of sharpness, a fact which demands on part of the Arab Nation the broadest and deepest mobilization of its militant energies for confronting this onslaught and for beating it back and realising manifest advance in the struggle against the positions of imperialism, Zionism and their ally, reaction.

This reinforcement and mobilization operation shall by no means be serious and effective unless it embraces the masses, the very masses whose role had paralyzed by some regimes and which, by means of coercive and oppressive practices at one time and by demagogical deception at another, had been separated by these regimes from practising their high militant possibilities and take their issues of destiny in their hands. This is because it is the masses alone that is the invincible power which is capable of standing up to the onslaught of imperialism, Zionism and their ally, reaction, with unrelenting firmness.

Moreover, among the exigencies of this stage is that the national progressive forces in every part of the Arab Homeland should seek pursuits of co-operation among one another with a view to realising the highest and strongest possible forms of unity so as to guarantee the availability of the necessary vanguard force which is to lead the masses in the battle. This will serve as a logical and natural answer to the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance which had attained high degrees of compactness and

perfection that cannot be confronted no matter how vast energies and enthusiasm put up, except by a counter-alliance representing all the forces of Arab liberation and progress hostile to imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Granting that the mobilization of the masses and the co-operation of national and progressive forces among one another are two essential conditions for confronting the imperialist-Zionist onslaught and paralyse the activity of reaction which aligns itself with imperialism and Zionism, there is yet another basic condition for placing the cause of Arab struggle at a standard qualifying for victory and warding off the risks of another defeat. This condition provides that the masses through their revolutionary establishments occupy the positions of leadership and guidance to confront the imperialist-Zionist aggression on the Arab Nation and to realize the Nation's targets of liberation, unity and progress.

The Right-wing and bourgeois forces which had prepared for the defeat by their stands, are still playing a negative and misleading role in this crucial stage of Arab struggle; and are still confirming their ineptitude, by their ideas and methods, for ensuring the basic requirements for facing the imperialist aggression and reactionary intrigues.

As to the feudalist, reactionary, pro-imperialist forces and regimes which have appeared on the scene after the defeat, in an attempt at rehabilitating them-

selves, they have recently started to exploit the difficulties and negative circumstances created by the aggression in order to regain their initiative, with the support of the imperialist countries and the adjacent reactionary regimes.

The aim of these forces and regimes is to suppress the Arab Liberation Movement, cripple the movement for progress, prepare the way for reactionary domination over the destinies of the Arab countries, and consequently, enable imperialism to preserve its interests and recover its lost positions. Hence, the union of patriotic and progressive contingents, as required by the present phase, both on the regional and national levels, has become an urgent matter and a national task of first-rate importance. In order for this union to accomplish the basic historical tasks, it should be based on certain prerequisites, including intensification of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction enabling the masses to lead their battle and providing them with all necessary revolutionary democratic atmosphere, elimination of all forms of persecution of the masses and their political, trade union and cultural institutions, and all forms of imperialist influence, and resolute opposition of the evil attempts and intrigues of the imperialist countries and reactionary forces at exploiting the present state of affairs in the Arab Homeland. Also, in order for the union between the contingents of the patriotic and progressive movement in any Arab country, to be serious and real, it should be directed to the realisation of unity

between the Arab countries and prepared for such. Real unity, in addition to the need for the presence of the aforementioned prerequisites, is that unity which is directed towards the resolute struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction on the basis of democracy and the radical interests of the toiling Arab masses. Unity requires at the same time, the employment of all methods of popular and official struggle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy and a genuine and effective alliance with the Palestinian resistance.

The Palestinian resistance is a basic instrument of the armed struggle of our people and a militant political force representing the will of the Palestinian Arab people in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and against their local allies. Alliance with the Palestinian resistance, and extension of material and moral support to its lawful struggle, is a nationalist duty and a basic condition for a victorious confrontation with the Zionist enemy.

Hence, one of the tasks of any alliance arising between the patriotic and progressive forces, is the denunciation of all the manoeuvres and outflanking moves aimed at encircling the Palestinian resistance, disarming it of its militant weapons, and domesticating it in keeping with the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemes; resolute struggle against these methods; and exposure and resistance of all attempts aimed at liquidating the Palestinian

cause, whether by establishing a puppet state on part of Palestinian territory, or by precluding the historical, political and legal aspects of the Palestinian issue, and depicting it as merely a question of refugees deserving sympathy and aid.

The struggle against Zionism as an aggressive racialist movement, an aggressive, racialist, expansionist settler regime and a fascist reactionary ideology; and the work for enabling the struggling Palestinian people to return home and determine their fate on their liberated land, are among the chief basic aims of Arab struggle on the national level.

The strategically-based alliance between the emancipated and progressive Arab regimes in the Arab Homeland, on one hand, and the forces of world and the progressive movements revolution, particularly the socialist camp, on the other, is of special importance. It is necessary to realise the most solid forms of cooperation, solidarity and understanding between them, proceeding from the faith in the unity of the general objectives and the unity of destiny between the movement of the Arab revolution and the movement of the world revolution.

In our Iraqi region, the long experience of the patriotic movement has stressed the importance of co-operation between the patriotic and progressive nationalist force achieving victories along the path of liberation, progress and democratic construction.

The National Union Front which arose in 1957 and embraced all the patriotic parties and forces in Iraq, was the sound basis for the decisive and swift victory of the July 14 Revolution of 1958; while the disintegration of the Front, and the indulgence of its contingents in side-track conflicts added to other causes — was a basic factor in the setback of the revolution and its incapability of completing its historical tasks.

The periods which have witnessed the rise of a national front in Iraq or of various forms of co-operation and alliance between the patriotic forces, have been always periods of national epics and valiant uprisings, in some of which the people achieved memorable victories and during which the capacity and vitality of the revolutionary patriotic movement and of each of its contingents, was enhanced.

As to the periods distinguished by antagonism and conflicts, they resulted in acute setbacks in the interests of imperialism and reactionary and Right-wing forces, and in heavy losses and powerful blows inflicted on the revolutionary patriotic forces.

Starting with 17 and 30 July 1968, the Arab Baath Socialist Party has led the revolutionary change in Iraq, amidst critical domestic, Arab and world conditions.

On the world scale, the situation was distinguished by the intensified offensive waged by world imperialism against the peoples of the world—especially the peoples of Indochina, the Arab people, and the liberation movements in the three continents. the sharpness of the struggle against the imperialist camp and its aggressive policy has been rising, as well as the influence and power of the socialist camp and the forces of liberty and progress in the world.

On the Arab level, this change has taken place in the wake of the defeat of the fifth of June, resulting in the occupation by the Zionist enemy the entire Palestinian territory, and of Arab territories in Egypt and Syria. While the fifth of June had been a grave military and political defeat, it has simultaneously resulted in two phenomena.

1. It has aroused the will of struggle among the Arab masses, and was associated with the appearance of the Palestinian resistance on the arena of struggle. It was also distinguished by the intensified mass movement calling for a radical change in all the regimes, institutions, ideologies, policies and affairs leading to the defeat. The 17 July Revolution was, in one of its historical aspects, a fruit of this movement.

2. The crystallisation of the conflict between the revolutionary patriotic forces and the reactionary and Right-wing forces in the Arab Homeland, both

on the level of the political regimes and inside the Arab societies. The reactionary stooge forces and regimes have come out to the open, in order to take the initiative from the emancipated regimes; while the calls for conciliation and compromise have become louder, and the danger of the Right-wing trends and policies and reactionary ideologies has been growing.

On the regional level, the 17 July Revolution has accomplished the task of toppling the dictatorial regime against which the revolutionary parties and forces had been fighting. It had on the basis of the cooperation and support of the patriotic forces — to draw up and carry out a programme aimed at completing the task of the national revolution which was started on 14 July 1958, continuing its march, and correcting its mistakes, and consequently, go ahead with the accomplishment of the new national, pan-Arab and democratic tasks, and proceeding along the path of social progress, national unity and preparation of the preconditions for the transition to socialism.

The Seventh Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party has defined the nature of this phase; and the same is true of the programmes of the parties and forces cooperating in the Front. The Baath Party and the coalesced parties have stressed — both in their congresses and programmes — the importance of the alliance between the patriotic

and progressive nationalist forces, Arab and Kurdish, in the framework of a progressive front, undertaking the accomplishment of the tasks of the phase — which are big and difficult tasks, bound to arouse vicious hostility on the part of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces, and requiring, consequently, the unity of the militant forces interested in accomplishing these tasks.

The rich experience of national struggle in Iraq, has underlined a fact of utmost importance, namely, that the people's masses were able to achieve great victories when the patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and forces were united in solid fronts; on the other hand, they were doomed to grave defeats and setbacks when the national front was torn asunder, its contingents getting into intensified conflicts, and national unity and the fateful relations between Arab and Kurds broken up. Joint action between the various patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and forces is a solid basis for preparing the biggest required resources for the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for realising the national and pan-Arab aspirations of the people.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party has viewed the question of alliance between the patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and forces in the Iraqi region, and the Arab homeland, in a principled and strategical manner, considering that the tasks of the revolution on the regional and national levels and

of the struggle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy and its reactionary allies required the combined efforts and energies of all the patriotic and progressive parties and forces, in the framework of a united front activity as determined by the specific conditions of each country.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party, the Iraqi Communist Party, the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and all patriotic and progressive nationalist elements with a militant record in the country, have upheld the slogan of the national front, and stressed in their political programmes the need for union between all the patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and forces in the struggle for liberation, democracy and social progress, and for achieving the lawful aims of the Kurdish people in Iraq on the basis of autonomy within the Iraqi Republic.

By virtue of the responsibilities shouldered by the Arab Baath Socialist Party, being the Party which has led the revolutionary changes and the political power since 17 July 1968, as a result of the support of the patriotic and progressive parties and forces in the country — the revolution has been able to achieve several tasks of the present historical phase, which fact has created more favourable objective conditions for the rise of the front of the patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and forces. The escalated struggle against imperialism has been associated with major achievements, chiefly :

1. Enactment of the Law No. 69/1972 providing for the nationalisation of the Iraq Petroleum Company operations, which has liberated the greater part of our oil wealth from the domination of the imperialist monopolies, and effected a great leap along the path of completing our economic independence. This historic achievement has been consolidated by the March 1973 Agreement, in which the oil companies were compelled to acknowledge the nationalisation and Laws Nos. 80 and 97. Earlier, the revolution had put into effect the slogan of national exploitation of oil and sulphur. Iraq has recently embarked upon working out the plans for marketing and processing oil, and building up a petro-chemical industry.

2. Development of relations of friendship and co-operation with the socialist countries on various levels. In this respect a qualitative and highly important change has been effected in Iraq's relations with the Soviet Union, by the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which has embodied the desire of the two countries for promoting their co-operation in all political, economic, cultural and military fields, and developing the cooperation into a firm strategical alliance. This achievement has been effected in the course of the liberatory line started by the revolution with the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the Cambodian Government of the National Union Front, the support of

the anti-imperialist liberation movements in various parts of the world.

3. Participation with the greatest possible share of Iraq's energies in the national battle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy; continuation of all-out support for the Palestinian Resistance; exposure of the imperialist plots and Iranian ambitions in the Arab Gulf; and resolute opposition of the imperialist and reactionary intrigues aimed at toppling the patriotic regime and restoration of imperialist and reactionary influence in the country.

On the domestic level, important achievements have been accomplished in the interests of national unity, and of the people's masses, chiefly :

1. Issuance of the Statement of 11 March 1970, which is the sound framework for the peaceful and democratic solution of Kurdish question, on the basis of autonomy for our Kurdish people within the Iraqi Republic. The issuance of the statement was a big national achievement, a resultant of the policy of the revolution and the cooperation of all patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and forces among the Arabs,, Kurds, and all the masses of the people. Decisions were also issued ensuring the rights of the national minorities, and preparing the required conditions for the ensurance of national equality and enhancement of national unity.

2. Preparation of the necessary requirements for the rapproachment and cooperation of the patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and forces, through publication of the draft National Action Charter prepared by the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party; commencement upon a democratic discussion of its articles and ideas and agreement on its final version; then inclusion of representatives of the patriotic and progressive nationalist parties and elements in the cabinet, and opening the opportunities for cooperation in the vocational organisations and the trade unions.

3. Enactment of revolutionary legislations on the agrarian question, such as the abolition of compensations and the right of choice for the feudalists, distribution of land among the peasants without recompense, legislation of the Agrarian Reform Law No. 117 of 1970, and the establishment of many cooperative, collective and state farms.

4. Enactment of the Labour Law No. 51/1970 and the workers Pension and Social Security Law No. 39/1971, which have brought important gains for the working class.

5. Extension of the Public Sector and enhancement of its leading role in national economy; extension of state control over foreign and domestic trade; commencement upon working out development plans for accomplishment of important hygienic,

cultural services and communication projects in various parts of the economic and social upsurge.

The enhancement of the liberatory, anti-imperialist line chosen by Iraq since 17 July 1968, the extended ties of co-operation and alliance with the Socialist countries, the perseverance in the achievement of a peaceful and democratic solution for the Kurdish question, the establishment of the national front, the accomplishment of progressive radical changes in the socio-economic structure of the country etc., all have combined to form a line provoking the hostility of the imperialist and Zionist quarters and the adjacent and Arab reactionary forces and regimes.

Thus, this line has been associated, especially following the oil nationalisation decision, with the growing aggressiveness of these forces, and their moves against Iraq, in the Arab Gulf and South Arabia. The features of a new arena are being hastily formed in the area, supplementing the arena of oil nationalisation decision in Iraq, and the aggravation of the fuel crisis in the capitalist world, an exceptional effort is at present being concentrated in this area rich in tremendous oil resources. Conspiracies against the revolution in Iraq constitute a principal aim in the scheme of the antagonistic forces.

Of late the imperialist quarters have been knocking together an oil bloc of the Arab and adjacent reactionary regimes, aimed at facing the consequences brought about by the Iraqi nationalisation decision as concerns the oil-producing countries, and consolidating the imperialist interests in the oil of this area.

At the same time, the imperialist countries are striving to place these countries in opposition to Iraq and the entire Arab Liberation Movement, by means of enhancing the aroused wave of pessimism and panic among the population of the United States and Western Europe, concerning the fuel crisis, with the aim of preparing public opinion for the acceptance of their aggressive schemes against the oil-producing Arab countries, especially concerning Arab oil. For the purpose of carrying out the scheme, American and British imperialism, backed up by the oil monopolies, have been working persistently and energetically for economic and military capacities and giving them a special role in their aggressive plans. The rapid pace of armament in Iran, in particular, and other reactionary Arab countries in the area, is associated with the aim of enabling these regimes to control the strategical positions and water routes in the Arab Gulf, the Red Sea, and assume the initiative in the confrontation with the revolutionary movement in this area, especially against Iraq. This antagonistic scheme is being also integrated and coordinated with Israel and certain Arab

reactionary regimes in order to form one combined plan of an all-out and far-reaching dangerous conspiracy against Iraq and the destinies of the Arab Liberation Movement.

These swift moves on the part of the antagonistic forces are associated with a tangible and growing deterioration in the affairs of some emancipated Arab countries, the emergence of the reactionary and right-wing forces on the scene of events, the rising wave of extermination against the Palestinian resistance, the intensified repression of the revolutionary forces, and consequently the concurrent calls for capitulation and accord with Israel, and passing over into the path of compromise with the imperialist countries at the expense of the honest and effective cooperation with the friendly Socialist countries, and the forces of revolution throughout the world.

This situation has shouldered Iraq with a great and arduous task, namely, the task of keeping steadfast and solid, and bolstering national unity to ward off and frustrate the intrigues of imperialism and the Arab and adjacent reactionary forces.

While not underrating these dangers to Iraq in particular, the latter possesses all that is necessary to ward off these dangers and retaliate against them efficiently and resolutely.

The mobilisation of the people in effective militant forms, and unleashing their capacities and energies, have become at present an urgent national and Pan-Arab task, and the tested and reliable instrument for this purpose is the national front, its resolute work for implementing its militant programme, and its adherence to its principles and ideas.

The endorsement of the National Action Charter in its present form, is considered as the official announcement of the rise of the Front of the patriotic and progressive nationalist parties, organizations, forces and elements which embody the joint leadership of the Iraqi people's struggle for achieving the Charter's aims. The Arab Baath Socialist Party occupies a distinguished position in its leadership and bodies, and it leads the political power in the country as well as its constitutional institutions. The relations between the parties of the progressive national front are based on mutual respect for the independence of each party, ideologically, politically and organisationally.

The endorsement of the Charter, and the rise of the patriotic and progressive nationalist front, have come in response to a big and cherished objective which had been called and struggled for by all the progressive parties and forces in the country, whose efforts have been crowned with success today. It also comes as a living and sincere response to the

wishes, interests and aspirations of the masses, and to the requirements of the battle against the imperialist-Zionist enemy, and its reactionary allies. Simultaneously, the birth of the Front is a fundamental step along the path of deepening and consolidating the Revolution which arose on 17 July 1968, completing the march of the 14 July Revolution of 1958, for preparing the biggest resources, and mobilising the largest forces for attaining the national and Pan-Arab goals of the people's masses.

The Front belongs to the whole people, to the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, military and civilian students, traders, women and all manual and intellectual toilers. The rise of the Front is recorded as an important event in the march of the revolutionary movement of our people, and a big turning point in the political life of our country.

The progressive national front in Iraq will strive, by its active struggle and the sincere and effective cooperation between its allied contingent to become a living and insuring example to be followed.

The parties and forces coalesced in the Front, and the masses supporting them, call upon the people, to work and struggle. They submit to its judgement and free will in their leadership of its struggle, and rely upon its invincible strength for achieving its aspirations and aims, and proceeding together towards new victories.

1. *THE POLITICAL SYSTEM*

The political system is the legal expression of the interests and aspiration of the social classes and groups which it represents; and since the national coalition fully represents the interests, of the toilers' masses and the progressive groups in society, the political system should embody this coalition and reflect the interests of these masses.

The patriotic regime, based on the coalition of the patriotic parties and progressive forces, will work during the transitional period for accomplishing the tasks envisaged by the Charter. Accordingly, the nature of the political system and its constitutional institutions are defined as follows :

1. Ensurance of all democratic freedoms, political and cultural, for the people's masses and its progressive and patriotic forces, including the freedom of the patriotic political parties, social and vocational organisations, and workers' and peasants' unions, and the freedom of press, opinion, belief and other basic freedoms, in keeping with the constitution and the Charter concepts.

2. Termination of the transition period in the shortest possible time, and commencement in the meantime upon the following :

- A. Preparation for general elections to the National Assembly under the full political freedom, with the agreement of the coalition forces.
- B. Preparation of the draft Permanent Constitution and its submittal to the National Assembly elected in general popular elections for discussion and endorsement.
- C. Elimination of the extraordinary conditions and establishment of constitutional, legislative and executive bodies and institutions.
- D. Implementation of the form of local rule and elected people's councils in all administrative units of the Iraqi Republic.

3. Establishment of an executive regional power in the Kurdish region, arising out of a Legislative Assembly elected along the aforementioned democratic lines. The powers of the Executive and its links with the central patriotic regime will be defined in keeping with the form of autonomy agreed upon by the contingents of the united national front and in the light of the historic 11 March Manifesto.

(A) The Kurdish Question

The Kurdish national question has remained, for many years, one of the major national questions awaiting solution. Our people have sustained many sacrifices and sufferings as a result of its continued suspension, and their unity, as well as that of the country, was endangered.

The 11 March Manifesto, which is supported by the progressive and patriotic parties and forces, and enjoys the support of the whole Iraqi people, with all their Arabs, Kurds and national minorities, is the sound framework for ensuring the legitimate national rights and aspirations of our Kurdish people, including autonomy.

In order to ensure the unity of the country and the people, and the unity of their progressive and patriotic forces along the path of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and in order to go ahead with accomplishing all the tasks of the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question under joint activity, the Charter lays down the following precepts :

1. The alliance between the Arab Baath Socialist Party, the Iraqi Communist Party, the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the other progressive nationalist and democratic forces rests, in its starting-point, and its ultimate objectives, on the basis of the fraternity and the historical revolutionary alliance chosen by the Arab and Kurdish peoples and the national minorities and particularly the toiling masses. It is based upon those masses, represents their interests, and expresses their legitimate aspirations.

2. The practice by the Kurdish masses of their legitimate national rights, including autonomy, is to be carried out as part of its natural framework as

embodied by the unity of national sovereignty, of territory, and of the political system of the Iraqi Republic.

3. The implementation of all the articles of the 11 March Statement and the completion of the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish national question, are inseparably linked with safeguarding the present revolutionary regime, deepening its content and consolidating its positions in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the local and adjacent reactionary forces. They are also linked with the practice of democratic freedoms in Iraq, including the Kurdish region, accomplishment of full equality in rights for all nationalities and minorities, liquidation of feudalism in Kurdistan, achievement of agrarian reform, and persistence in the implementation of the 11 March Statement, and deepening its social content in the interests of the masses.

4. The revolutionary changes, in all political, economic and cultural fields, and the promotion of the interests of the workers, peasants and the toiling people's masses, are objective guarantees for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question, and for deepening its progressive content.

5. The responsibility for achieving the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question, and the implementation of the 11 March Statement, is a joint national responsibility which no patriotic contingent can shirk.

6. The continued ideological and political struggle against the chauvinistic and supremacist ideas and trends as well as against isolationism and national narrow-mindedness, is a basic condition for safeguarding the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question, and ensuring its development on one hand, and for safeguarding national unity and the revolutionary changes aimed at accomplishing the national and pan-Arab tasks, on the other.

(B) Popular Mobilisation :

The people's masses, of workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals, are the broad social basis of the revolution and of the front of the patriotic and progressive nationalist forces, and the force capable of achieving its objectives. One of the basic requisites for accomplishing the short-range and ultimate tasks of the revolution, is to mobilise those masses and concentrate their forces for carrying out the liberatory and people's democratic tasks, and for repulsing the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary conspiracies against our country and the Arab Homeland.

The organisation of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, and women, in trade unions and associations, is a lawful right stressed by the present Charter, a national necessity and a basic element of the new revolutionary society. The revolution atta-

ches special importance to the vanguard role played by the working class and its organisations in economic, social and political development. The revolution regards the question of organising the youth of both sexes in broad youth organisations, as a vital necessity and an objective to be attained, in order to enable the youth, in the framework of their active democratic organisations, to perform their duties in the process of revolutionary construction, in protecting and developing the revolutionary gains, and in the fateful national battle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy, and against all the forces coveting any part of the Arab Homeland. The revolution also regards the affiliation of women to all the present organisations, as a basic need which should be met in the widest scope; and it fully supports the specific women organisations, in order that women should take their proper positions and perform their required effective role in the revolutionary construction process and in the nationalist battle. The revolution also guarantees for all Iraqi women political, economic, social and cultural rights enjoyed by men.

The trade unions, peasants associations, student and women organisations, and vocational and social organisations are able, under the revolution and the National Front, to perform their effective role in stepping up the revolutionary social changes and contributing to the accomplishment of new achievements, in all political, economic and cultural fields.

(C) The Army and Armed Forces :

The slogan of the formation of national armed forces had been one of the chief demands of the popular struggle in the era of imperialist domination. When our people's will imposed upon the imperialists and their ruling accomplices, the formation of the national army, the former tried with various means to keep the army away from the people and its patriotic and nationalist movement, and turn it into an isolated institution with the basic aim of protecting the reactionary regime and imperialist interests. But the overwhelming majority of the army soldiers and officers, consisting of sons of peasants, workers, and the middle class, did not succumb to the will and schemes of the imperialists and their accomplices, but demonstrated its response to the people's aspirations for liberty, progress and national unity, and their full rejection of all forms of oppression and domination. The imperialists and their reactionary accomplices failed to turn the army into an instrument for attacking the rising patriotic and nationalist movement. On more than one occasion in the history of our national struggle, the army had manifested its alignment with the demands of the popular movement for liberation from imperialist domination and the rule of the reactionary, exploiting, and corrupt classes; its two glorious revolutions on 2 May 1941 and 14 July 1958 are the living proof of that.

Under the revolution led by the Arab Baath Socialist Party, on 17 July, 1968, in which the revolutionary military detachments had consciously and valiantly participated, the importance of the adhesion of the army to the popular movement and its full performance of its national and pan-Arab functions, is being increasingly confirmed.

1. The primary task of the army and the armed forces, is defence of the country and its full sovereignty and unity.

Chief among its major tasks, also, is vanguard participation in the nationalist struggle for liberating Palestine and all the usurped Arab territories, and for rebuffing all the conspiracies and designs aimed against any part of the Arab Homeland.

These heavy tasks require the constant supply of the army with the most up-to-date weapons and equipment, elevation of the combat, scientific and technical standards of all its members, and of the degree of vigilance, commitment and discipline among its various ranks; development of the military schools and institutes and the building up of a national military industry. They also require special care for the soldiers, in order to make them a conscious, effective and dignified element.

Since the army is an essential part of the people, and one of their vanguard detachments

struggling for their freedom and progress, in all political, economic, social and cultural fields, and since it is, by virtue of its composition and aspirations, linked up with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, of peasants, workers and the middle class, it is shouldered with the responsibility for participation in the all-out national work for building the new revolutionary society, in keeping with the slogan upheld by the revolution :

"THE ARMY FOR WAR AND CONSTRUCTION". Thus, the army participation in the voluntary work drives and in all other popular activities aimed at raising the economic, social and cultural standards of the people's masses, is one of the basic conditions for the preservation of its popular militant identity and its protection against the isolationist bureaucratist and suprematist tendencies, promoted by the imperialists and their allied forces and the elements lagging behind the process of reactionary change. This participation is also a major national necessity for effecting progress in the country with the swiftest possible rates and in all fields.

3. The ensurance of the performance by the army of its sacred duties in war and construction, and of its adhesion to the popular movement and the masses' interests, require continued work for deepening the nationalist, democratic and progressive consciousness among its ranks, and also retaining its purity against the deviations of the adventurist cliques which think only of their own interests

at the expense of its basic aims and the people's supreme interests, at the instigation of all imperialist and reactionary anti-popular quarters.

The unity of the army and all the national armed forces, their firm rally around the revolution and its principles and leadership, and their consistent commitment to the defence of the revolution and the people's gains against all forms of aggression, conspiracy or subversion, are essential things which cannot be trifled with. It is the leadership of the revolution alone which undertakes the responsibility of ensuring these conditions.

As to the fundamental tasks of the security and police forces, they are at present, under the masses' revolution and the national coalition concentrated on protecting the security, safety and possessions of the citizens from all forms of aggression and usurpation, protecting the country against the spies, agents and subversive elements, safeguarding the freedoms and rights of the people and of their patriotic and progressive nationalist forces, keeping in unison with the legitimate aspirations of masses in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the forces of counter-revolution, for democracy and social progress. For this purpose, and under the revolution and the national coalition, it is necessary to deepen the democratic relations between the security organs and the masses and their patriotic forces and trade unions and vocational organisations.

It is also necessary to purge these organs of the elements opposed to the national coalition. This requires the deepening of the patriotic, nationalist and democratic education among the staffs of these organs, and a great care for turning the slogan :

“THE POLICE IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE” into an actual reality in all parts of the country.

(D) The State Apparatus and Judicature :

The revolution has inherited the state apparatus from the eras of imperialist domination and dictatorial reactionary rule. Naturally, this apparatus which had arisen and grown during those eras, had been orientation, by their various interests and affairs and their hostile attitude to the people's masses, and their aspirations for freedom, democracy and progress.

There are still many diseases in the state apparatus, including inflation, backward methods, high expenses, spread of the undemocratic and unobjective relationships, and the tendency to eye the masses with hauteur and keep aloof from their basic interests and aspirations. Some parts of the apparatus are performing a harmful and subversive role in the phase of revolutionary changes, thus forming, by their lag behind these changes and their negative view of their dimensions, a basic obstacle

to their process. The phase of the revolution and the union of the patriotic and progressive forces require the completion of the radical changes in the structure of the state apparatus and its inner relationships with the masses and their political and social organisations.

The slogan which should prevail and be consciously and resolutely enforced, is that of placing the state organs in the service of the masses and ensuring mass control over them and the organisation of their control in workable and effective forms. It is also necessary for the state organs to keep abreast with all the revolutionary political social, economic and cultural changes.

These tasks require the dissemination of revolutionary and people's democratic consciousness among the state organs, deepening the sense of responsibility, combatting the bureaucratist and supremacist tendencies, liquidation of all spect of deviation and corruption especially bribery and favouritism purging them of all corrupt and inept elements and supplying them continuously with patriotic and progressive nationalist elements dedicated to the revolution and the Charter principles.

These tasks also require the development of the systems of the state organs, limitation of red tape, generalisation of training courses, extension of decentralised powers, laying down objective scienti-

fic lines for the choice and promotion of officials; unification of the service laws in keeping with the taste resources and the requirements of development; adoption of the required studied scientific steps for the elimination of the wide-spread masked unemployment caused by the inflation of the administrative apparatus; and for planning the administrative activity, establishment of discipline in the public offices, and directing the surplus energies in the apparatus towards the productive projects contributing to a speedy upsurge and progress in all fields, and for the maximum employment of all national resources.

The judicature apparatus occupies a basic position among the state organs, due to its responsibility for establishing justice among the citizens. The tasks entrusted to it require the development and purification of its organs of the elements opposed to the revolution and the principles of this Charter, improving their methods of work, safeguarding the dignity and independence of the judicature, and respect of the law and the principle of the laws and legislations compatible with the principles of the revolution and the Charter, and the enactment of new laws and legislations regulating the relationships in the revolutionary society, in keeping with its precepts, foundations and objectives, and facilitating the implementation of all revolutionary achievements and plans.

2. *NATIONAL ECONOMY*

The national economy was distinguished by two outstanding features, namely backwardness, and economic dependence resultant from the imperialist and reactionary policies which had dominated the fate of the country in the past. In the prerevolutionary period, it rested on foundations ensuring the interests of the feudal and bourgeois classes at the expense of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people; and it was also characterised by recurrent crises, confused economic policies, and corruptions. All the attempts aimed at its liberation, organisation and placement on scientific and progressive foundations remained inadequate, confused and threatened with setbacks, as a result of the nature of the regimes preceding the revolution, and their patriotic and progressive nationalist forces. The phase of the revolution, and the rise of the national alliance, requires active and resolute work for accomplishing the tasks necessitated by the phase, on the basis of building a national economy, through a unitarist outlook laying down the foundation and beginnings of an integrated Arab economic base, placed entirely in the service of the cause of the popular struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and on the basis of rejection of the path of capitalist development in principle, in addition to the fact of its being incapable of accomplishing the the tasks of liberating the national economy and

building it on solid foundations, and of ensuring the welfare of the citizens.

The economic line to which the revolution is committed at present, is that required by the needs of accomplishing all the tasks of liberation and people's democracy, the requisites of preparation for transition to socialism, the principles of unity, and the needs of the fateful battle. The forthcoming phase requires the consideration of the following principles and means as basic guidelines of work in the field of national economy :

1. Proceeding consistently, and in keeping with a studied scientific plan, for fully liberating the national economy with all its branches, from the chains of foreign-dependence.

2. Building up a diversified, integrated and coordinated national economy, taking care to spare the country the state of a one-sided economy, planned by the imperialist states and monopolies, and attainment of self-sufficiency in all possible branches.

3. Work for achievement of economic unity, bolstering the Arab Common Market, and accomplishment of economic cooperation, co-ordination and integration among the Arab countries.

The needs of economic development also require the participation of Arab capital in all possible pro-

jects, as fixed by the state which offers adequate guarantees for the participation of this public and private capital in the national economy.

4. Placing the trade and financial policies, the public services and the basic structure of economy (fuel sources, transport, etc.) in the service of economic development and linking them organically with the whole national economy and the State Economic Plan.

5. Ensuring the welfare of the people's masses, particularly the peasants, workers and the toiling groups, elimination of all forms and methods of class, and realisation of justice among all citizens.

6. The Public Sector is the corner-stone of national economy in all its branches, whether in agriculture, industry, trade or services. The state shoulders the responsibility for directing the economic activity and working out the foundations and laws regulating it. One of the primary requisites of national economic activity, is the extension and consolidation of the Public Sector by all resources increasing its effectiveness and capacity for accomplishing the tasks of the present phase, and also the tasks of preparation for the transition to socialism.

The Mixed Sector, regulated and encouraged by the state, also performs its positive tasks in building of national economy, and it is necessary to work for

selecting the economic branches to be entrusted to this sector.

7. Since the Private Sector is capable of performing positive tasks in the building of national economy, it is necessary to bolster this sector, promote its industrial, artisan and other projects, and utilise its economic experience for the service of the national economy. This is to be carried out under the direction of the Public Sector, and in cooperation with it, in keeping with the plans fixed by the state, on the basis of the principles of this Charter.

8. Activation and enhancement of the role of the people's masses and their trade unions and vocational organisations in the process of economic construction.

9. Formation of specialised, efficient, and active economic organs, dedicated to the revolutionary patriotic and nationalist aims, and working zealously and selflessly for their realisation, adoption of central planning as an effective instrument in the process of economic development; improvement and development of the statistical organs; building up central control and follow-up organs; employment of the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution; and raising the labour productivity.

10. Encouragement of the cooperative method in the productive and consumer sectors and the services sector, and its organisation and generalisation on the widest possible scale.

11. Taking the national and pan-Arab interests as the basis for any form of economic cooperation with the foreign countries.

12. Enhancement and extension of economic co-operation between Iraq and the friendly socialist countries and all countries taking positive stand towards Iraq in the interest of stepping up the process of economic development.

A. Oil and Minerals

At the present phase, oil is the basic resource of the country's economy, and performs a decisive role in determining its political and economic future. As a result of this exceptional importance of oil in our life, the foreign monopolist companies have played dangerous roles in jeopardising the country's independence, and conspiring against its patriotic and progressive forces, and against the people's aspirations for freedom and progress. Naturally, following the nationalisation of the Iraq Petroleum Company, and the possession of the Mosul Oil Company, the aim of the revolution is the completion of the full liberation of the oil wealth from foreign control and exploitation, its subjection to national sovereignty in all aspects, its full placement in the service of the people's welfare, and its turning struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The serious and scientific work for achieving these aims, requires the continued proce-

dure, resolutely and consistently, along the national oil policy followed by the revolution, and aimed at building a large, strong and integrated oil industry.

The task of building the national oil industry requires the bolstering of this sector by all the necessary material and human resources, the development of the institutes and institutions providing the cadres needed by the oil industry, and cooperation with the socialist and friendly countries. The Charter stresses the need for continuation of the policy of wrenching out the rest of our rights from the monopolist companies, whether through work via the Arab and international organisations, or through the measures and legislations enacted by the state. Chief among the aims of the policy, the planning of production, and its placement in the service of our national interests, and also increasing the oil prices and the revenues. Continuing the same line in the field of oil policy, the Charter attaches great importance to the continued direct national exploitation of minerals.

The oil resources are the main source of energy in Iraq and the primary source of capital and its accumulation. At the same time, it is the raw material for petrochemical industries. The rational use of oil and its revenues would form a basic foundation for economic development, which requires in turn the merging of oil and the oil industries in the national economy.

The building of a large mineral industry is a basic element in the process of building a diversified and integrated national economy which would achieve progress and enable the country to fully control the destinies of its economy and place them in the service of its interests and its national and pan-Arab causes.

B. The Agrarian Revolution

The revolution shoulders the responsibility of effecting a radical change in the whole political, economic, social and cultural foundations and relationships in favour of the movement for liberation and progress. The countryside and the agricultural sector are among the chief sectors in need of swift and decisive change, because of its miserable and backward conditions, comprising as it does the greatest sector of the people.

Our countryside is in need of a universal revolution, which would eliminate the feudal, tribal and communal relationships and all the backward values inherited from the centuries of enslavement and disseminated by the backward exploitative feudal system. The radical agrarian reform started by the revolution in the countryside, is only the beginning for the agrarian revolution which would deliver the countryside from its backward conditions.

The accomplishment of radical agrarian reform, with the aim of effecting an all-out agrarian revolution, requires continuation of the measures taken

by the revolution to liquidate the feudal properties, distribute the land among the peasants and provide them with seeds, fertilisers and loans, accomplish major irrigation and drainage projects, and development of the present ones; increase the area of the cultivated land while concentrating on vertical expansion in agriculture by the employment of machines and improved seeds, carry out the necessary changes in the agricultural structure; and show concern for the livestock, agricultural industrialisation and planned exploitation production and marketing.

It also requires the generalisation of universal enlightenment, preparation of the material conditions for stopping the emigration from countryside to towns, and continued encouragement of the educated youth to work in the countryside. Among the basic needs for effecting the required revolutionary changes in the countryside, are the combating of illiteracy among the peasants, introducing of agriculture as a fundamental subject in education, generalisation of agricultural schools and institutes, and the establishment of specialised institutes and laboratories for agricultural sciences.

The sound and advanced framework for effecting the agrarian revolution, raising the living standards of the peasant masses, and increasing national economy, are the state, collective and co-production in keeping with the requirements of the

operative forms, which the revolution is working to generalise throughout the whole countryside.

C. Industry

Industry is the main basis of the process of civilisational progress at our present times, and one of the basic prerequisites for transition to socialism. The imperialists and their local allies had tried to obstruct the rise of a strong and vigorous national industry for two basic reasons; first, maintenance of the backward conditions in our country and keeping the latter as a market for circulating the goods manufactured in the imperialist countries and a source of raw materials for the imperialist monopolies; and secondly, prevention of the formation of a big working class. When the national will and the objective conditions imposed the establishment of a national industry, they tried by various methods to keep it dependent on the imperialist market and restrict it to the supplementary and consumer fields.

At the present the revolution faces two big tasks in the field of industry; first, completion, bringing to success, development and extension of the present industries; and secondly, the building of a modern, large, diversified, coordinated, and integrated national industrial base, which would be a prop to national independence and a basis for political, economic and social development, oriented towards socialism, since industry in the Iraqi regions is mainstay;

it is natural that the industrialisation process should be directed towards the attainment of mutual inter-connection between this process and the two aforementioned mainstays.

The basic tasks of industrialisation in our country are the establishment and development of the petro-chemical and mining industries, and of industries dependent on the agricultural materials produced by the country. This also requires the establishment of industries providing the oil and minerals and agricultural sectors with the required implements and equipment.

The task of building a strong national industry capable of performing its tasks in our patriotic and nationalist battles on one hand, and bringing prosperity to the masses on the other, requires the creation of a sound balance between heavy and productive industries (without which it is impossible to lay the bases for an independent and strong national industry) on one hand, and the consumer industries which meet the citizen's needs, together with great care for increasing the development rates, raising the labour productivity, curtailing the costs, improvement and increase of production, opposing all trends for sweeping along the slippery path of consumer economy, and linking up the immediate and ultimate economic objectives. One of the basic conditions accompanying the all-out industrialisation process, is the extension of the power

industry, and particularly the high-tension electrical power.

The Public Sector in industry is the basis; it shoulders the responsibility for leading the private and mixed sectors, and the revolution should bolster this sector by all the required resources, and extend it to the maximum. In view of the country's need for rapid development and for the citizens' participation in the construction process, the participation of the Private Sector in the industrial plans, and particularly the consumer and small supplementary industries, is very necessary, and should be encouraged by the state and provided with all the requisites and guarantees of success.

Moreover, the work for extending democratic management in the industrial and productive enterprises, by means of extending the workers' participation in the managing boards and the general assemblies of the establishments, in a manner ensuring the increase and development of production and the establishment of sound and conscious labour relationships, is one of the aims sought after by the country conscious, loyal and active cadres for leading this vital sector. The accomplishment of these tasks requires the development of the organs of the Public Sector in industrial schools and institutes, planning organs, the increase of industrial schools and institutes, and the utilisation of all the national and Arab experience and the experience and aid of the socialist and friendly countries.

D. Trade

The trade sector occupies a position of utmost importance, due to its basic connection with the question of national development and national independence on one hand, and its being the sector responsible for ensuring the consumers needs of the people on the other.

The line which should be followed in trade policy, is the subjection of domestic and foreign trade to the requirements of national independence, self-sufficiency, and the development plan and determining the activity of trade within the scope of the trends turning it from an exploitative and greedy intermediary sector, into a basic link of an integrated and developed national economy aimed at serving the people. This requires the procedure along the path of nationalisation of foreign trade and wholesale trade, and the subjection of the import and export policy to the requirements of development and the supreme national interests.

The revolution, while being careful to protect the interests of the toiling masses, ensuring a proper living standard for them, and eliminating all forms of exploitation, greed, and extortion, is careful at the same time to safeguard the interest of the small and middle merchants. It holds the view that the Private Sector in the field of trade can play a positive role if placed in the framework of the

masses' interest, and the supreme national interests. The Charter calls for bolstering the Private Sector, providing it with all means of success, development and extension, in order to enable it to perform its tasks in the process of enhancing the national independence, building up a solid economic basis, and affording the goods to the citizens at suitable prices, far removed from the price fluctuations and the crisis which are contrived in part by monopolist greed and the anti-popular forces.

E. Financial Policy

Throughout the previous regimes, the financial policy had been unstable, improvised and unconnected with the masses' interests and their patriotic and nationalist basic issues. In order for the financial policy to carry out its basic role in building the new revolutionary regime, it should rest on the basis of clear-cut and consistent scientific commitment to the basic interests of the masses and their patriotic nationalist causes, and that by directing the budget expenditure towards the affairs of national defence, development, education, health, social security and public services. The Charter regards the following principles as the main guidelines of work in this field:

1. Work for a just distribution of the national income; enforcement of an equitable tax system in

the interests of the broad masses; reduction of the indirect taxes on productive goods, medicines, and basic consumer articles; enforcement of a price policy in keeping with the nature of the produced or imported goods and their importance for the national economy, population consumption and needs of economic development; and the enforcement of a customs policy in keeping with the needs of development and the improvement of the trade balance.

2. Distribution of the national income between accumulation and consumption, in the direction of serving and developing the fields contributing to the development of the productive sectors in the national economy.

3. Linking up the ordinary budget with the investment budget, in a manner helping to accomplish the economic development plans and contributing to the delivery of the various state services to the broadest masses with the least expenses.

4. Generalisation of insurance education in the building of society, promotion of social saving, and the maximum utilisation of the accumulated reserve material resources in the interest of the process of social development.

5. Enforcement of the principle of economic financial control over the state expenditure and revenues apart from financial control.

3. *SOCIAL AIMS*

Throughout the centuries of foreign domination, class oppression and the rule of corrupt and dictatorial groups, abnormal conditions and grave diseases had prevailed in our society of the masses for work, production and creation, and oppressed them with the chains of injustice and backwardness. The slogan of the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease, was among the basic slogans in our struggle along the regional and national fields. This slogan still occupies its basic position among the aims of the revolution which aspires to effect a radical and universal change in social affairs, within the scope of a unitarist, socialist, democratic outlook.

The starting-point in the change aimed at by this Charter, is deep faith in the masses and their creative role in making history and building human civilisation. Thus, the revolution, under the joint national activity for building the new revolutionary society, strives to ensure all the required social conditions for safeguarding the freedom and dignity of the citizens, enabling them to work, produce and create, and liberating them from all the chains crippling their powers and human interests. The tasks of the revolution in this field may be summed up as follows :

(1) Viewing labour as the right and duty of every able citizen; and elimination of unemploy-

ment in its various forms through development of the various sectors of national economy as part of the objective aims of development; and also through elaborating and enforcing a training and employment system in keeping with the various levels of development.

(2) Ensuring of social security and a dignified life for the citizens as part of a plan in keeping with the development of the revolution and the state resources.

(3) Achievement of a better coordination between the wage standards and individual incomes on one hand, and the price movement and living costs on the other in a manner ensuring a better life for the citizens, and adequate incomes for the families to meet their basic living requirements.

(4) Ensurance of hygienic care, medicine and protection against diseases, and viewing human life as a basic value which should be preserved by all possible means, as part of a developing scientific plan in keeping with the state resources at each phase.

(5) Dissemination of education in all its branches among all citizens, linking it up in a planned manner with the aims of development and with the patriotic and nationalist issues, and basing it on foundations ensuring the moulding of the generation in keeping with the requirements of the aims of

the revolution and the aspirations of the people's masses, within the scope of the unitarist, socialist, democratic relationships and values.

The state should work for developing the pre-school phase, by means of extending and developing the maternity homes and kindergartens as educational institutions and instruments for alleviating the educational and domestic burdens shouldered by the women. It also faces the task of enforcing its plan of compulsory education, on the level of the primary stage and later the intermediate and secondary stages; and also the elimination of illiteracy, which is one of the basic conditions for effecting a radical change in direction of progress.

(6) Ensurance of healthy and proper housing for all citizens in keeping with the phase requirements and the state resources. The state aims at the present phase at fixing rents in keeping with the citizens' incomes and protecting them against greed and extortion. It also aims at promoting the cooperation social institutions working to afford houses for their members. It shoulders a fundamental responsibility for building large housing units throughout the country, equipped with all the requirements of health, communications, culture and security.

(7) Women, who had suffered all the conditions of enslavement, exploitation and backwardness undergone by our people, have suffered in addition,

specific bad conditions which humiliated their human dignity and crippled their free, conscious, creative contribution to human life. Thus, special care for women for transferring them into new conditions, is a basic objective of the process of social change. The liberation of women from the leftovers of the feudalist and bourgeois outlook and from the conditions and chains under which they were treated as mere property or second-rate citizens, is a sacred patriotic and nationalist duty, which should be fought for with utmost faith and enthusiasm.

Our society, facing the tasks of struggle against imperialism, Zionism, reaction and backwardness, and against many dangers of its destiny, should not be deprived of the active role which women can perform, contributing as they do one half of society. Furthermore, the liberation of women from all left-over chains and obstacles, is the right beginning for bringing up a new generation capable of shouldering its patriotic and nationalist responsibilities.

4. *CULTURE, ARTS AND INFORMATION*

Culture, arts and information are among the highest achievements of human civilization, and the most powerful and effective means created by man for reflecting his social affairs and his feelings, ambitions and aspirations. Each stage of human development had had its own culture, information and arts, by virtue of the dialectical connection between these branches and the social, economic and political system. Thus, it is natural for the new revolutionary system to have its own culture, information and aspirations.

Progressive culture, information and arts arose in the old society as struggle for self-expression, and for occupying positions of influence among the masses.

With the collapse of the old society and the attainment of power by the revolutionary forces, the latter are bound to consolidate their decisive and all-out victory over the culture, arts and information of the old society. The relationship between culture, information and arts of the old society of revolution, is a dialectical one, with two aspects : **FIRST**, with free conscious association with the heritage, coupled with a deep, revolutionist, historical outlook; and **SECONDLY**, the aspiration to the formation of new information, culture, and arts, fully reflecting the affairs, needs, sentiments and

aspirations of the new society. The present phase requires the following precepts and tasks in the fields of culture, arts and information :

1. Information culture and arts, of the revolution are those which proceed from the nationalist democratic socialist outlook interacting with and unfolding into human culture in general, and progressive culture in particular; and which are closely connected with the masses and their interests, issues, sentiments, and aspirations, with due regard for the freedom of choosing the forms and maintaining the elements of creation.

2. Resolute and conscious struggle against the ideas, theories, trends and methods promoting denominationalism, chauvinism, racism and regionalism and the spirit of defeat and liberation; and serving the imperialists and their feudal and bourgeois mainstays, and all enemies of the revolution and the Charter principles, together with all their deprivatives in each phase; and the purification of the information, culture and artistic institutions of these ideas and the elements adhering to them and propagate them directly or indirectly.

3. Preservation of the Arab heritage, explanation of all its humanist and progressive elements, and taking care of spreading it among the masses and in the world.

Also, concern for the humanist heritage of the civilisation of the Twin Rivers valley and for the

Kurdish national heritage and for the folk characteristics of all nationalities and minorities in the country.

4. Preparation of possibilities for building advanced institutions for culture, arts and information, and their continuous development for keeping abreast with the spirit of the age and its progress; their dissemination on a wide scale among the masses, supplying them with efficient elements loyal to the objectives of the revolution; utilisation of all the national, Arab and world experience in these fields, and securing the requirements of culture and knowledge for the various sectors of the people.

5. Struggle against the negative attitude towards cultural, artistic and social position and the living standard of the workers in these vanguard fields, and encouragement of youth for joining them.

6. Universities in our age are performing an important and pioneer role in the life of societies, as one of the important means for spreading consciousness and knowledge and preparing scientific cadres in various specialisations. In our country, these institutions have got a special role in keeping abreast with the process of the revolution and supporting it for meeting all the requirements of social change in the interests of the patriotic and national struggle. Accordingly, the Charter upholds the need

for bolstering the university institutions and scientific research institutes, in a direction harmonising with the masses' aspirations for spreading up the processes of social and economic change; and this can be done only by purifying these institutions of all right-wing and liberalist trends opposed to the thought of the revolution and the principles of this Charter, and through the reformation of the programmes of university education in a manner ensuring its harmony with the precepts and development plans of the revolution, and the urgent need for developing and extending scientific and technological studies.

5. *ARAB POLICY*

The policy in the Arab field is determined by the resolve of the Front to participate fully and effectively in the Arab Liberation Movement aimed at eliminating imperialism in its various forms and combating Zionism and reaction; and for social progress, full liberation, and unity; and the nationalisation of all national and popular energies, and their enlistment in the nationalist and liberation battles. As a means for reflecting this policy and achieving its aims, the Charter lays down the following points :

1. Resolute and all-out struggle, with all means, against imperialism and its influence, interests and mainstays, and liberation of all parts of the Arab land from it; and sharp opposition to the attempts of infiltration into the Arab Homeland, whether directly or indirectly.

2. Resolute opposition to any foreign attempt aimed at usurping, dominating or slicing off any part of the Arab Homeland, and struggle in particular for protecting the Arab Gulf from the plots of settler invasion and other attempts, and liberating its usurped parts.

3. Struggle in all means for attaining universal Arab unity on a liberatory and people's democratic basis, where the masses would be the

effective instrument in moulding the process of historical unity.

4. Struggle against Zionism as an aggressive racist movement, and settler, expansionist, aggressive, racist regime, and a fascist reactionary ideology; work for enabling the struggle of Palestinian Arab people to return home; and determine their destiny on their liberated land; and condemnation of all settlements and projects aimed at liquidating the Palestine cause and its liquification by partial solutions.

5. Bolstering the Palestinian resistance with all means, and offering it the required help for enabling it to achieve the unity of its detachments, and its presence and freedom of action for the aims of the Palestinian Arab people.

6. Achievement of unity of joint work among all revolutionary and progressive patriotic forces and detachments, both on the official and popular levels, in the Arab Homeland and inside each country, for the sake of preparing the biggest and most effective resources in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

7. Bolstering the revolutionary changes in the Arab countries, and supporting the liberation and progressive patriotic movements in a manner promoting the aims of Arab struggle and deepening its historical march.

8. Enhancement of militant solidarity with the Arab people in Oman and the Gulf countries, and everywhere where the struggle for liberation is flaming up. The struggle for these aims is a basic cause organically linked up with the struggle against imperialism, and for liberation and unity.

The unity of action of the Arab countries, and the mobilisation of their efforts and energies in the struggle against the aggressive intrigues and schemes of imperialism, Zionism and the reactionary forces, and their closer cooperation with the socialist countries, are among the major conditions for successful struggle against the Israel-Imperialist aggression.

This great nationalist task requires the mobilisation of the Arab masses in effective militant forms, and particularly armed struggle on the popular and official levels, whether on the Palestinian front or wherever need may be, in any usurped part of the Arab Homeland.

6. *FOREIGN POLICY*

The foreign policy followed by the Front, proceeds from faith in the resolute and all-out struggle, with all means, against imperialism, Zionism and reaction; and from the interests of the struggle for enhancing our national independence and defending our nationalist causes, and supporting the cause of freedom and peace throughout the world.

The Front holds that the revolutionary movement in Iraq is a vital and active part of the world anti-imperialist revolutionary movement. It also stresses the full and resolute alignment of Iraq with the camp of the peoples fighting against imperialism, aggression and racial discrimination; support for the world liberation movements and progressive forces everywhere; and furtherance of the relations of co-operation and alliance with them and with the socialist countries.

The Front will work for continuing and enhancing the revolutionary line charted out by the patriotic regime in consolidating and developing cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union in keeping with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded between the two countries; in extending the political, economic and cultural relations with the other socialist countries; and in supporting the forces fighting for freedom and progress throughout the world. Proceeding from all this,

the Charter stresses the following points in the field of foreign policy:

1. Firm adherence to the policy of struggle against imperialism throughout the world, rejection of all forms of dependence, supporting the right of self-determination for nations and peoples, and condemnation of the policies of aggression, usurpation and racial discrimination.

2. Opposition of aggressive military alliances, plans and blocs, and of the imperialist policies endangering the security and safety of the peoples and jeopardising world peace.

3. Enhancement of relations with the states and peoples of the socialist camp, in a manner ensuring their mutual interests and tipping the world struggle for defeating imperialism and eliminating its influence.

4. Enhancement and development of relations with the patriotic and nationalist liberation movements particularly in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and with all liberation movements throughout the world in general, including the progressive workers' and popular movements in Europe and the United States; and enhancement of the role of the Iraqi region in the struggle for achieving the unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

5. Building up relations of freindship and co-operation with all states towards our patriotic and nationalist issues and interests.

6. Active participation in the struggle of mankind for achieving peace based on justice, warding off the danger of war, banning the use of weapons of mass destruction, and relaxation of international tension in a manner ensuring the basic rights of all peoples of the world.

RULES OF ACTION OF THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL AND NATIONALIST FRONT

ARTICLE ONE

The Progressive National and Nationalist Front is a voluntary militant association between progressive national and nationalist parties, forces and elements. It represents progressive social classes and groups as well as progressive personalities within the society. Its charter, the National Action Charter, epitomizes the common goals of the parties subscribing to it.

The National Front is the effective instrument for mobilising the popular masses, releasing their energies and initiatives and concerning their action in the struggle for the achievement of their goals in regard to national, nationalist and social liberation.

The National Front is a pool of national struggle mounted by all nationalities of the Homeland — Arabs, Kurds and national minorities. The common struggle waged by the forces participating in the Front has by its nature, the effect of creating better conditions for cementing the traditions and relationships of fraternal co-operation and reinforcing mutual trust between those forces.

The growth of the power of the Front and the expansion of its influence are a source of strength to all parties it combines just the enhancement inside the Front of the positions of participating parties constitutes an additional strength to the Front and

to the general sum of the country's revolutionary movement.

The Front is the property of the masses of the people and is a free field to all national energies that are to the good of the people. Accordingly, it is the right as well as the duty of the popular masses to actively and freely participate in its functions and struggles.

ARTICLE TWO

THE FRONT'S ORGANS *THE HIGH COMMITTEE*

A — The High Committee of the Progressive National and Nationalist Front is the Front's highest leading body and is based in Baghdad.

B — The High Committee shall be composed of sixteen members including the Chairman and these shall be drawn up as follows :

- Eight members representing the ABSP.
- Three members representing the Iraqi CP.
- Three members representing the KDP
- One member from the progressive nationalists.
- One member from the independent democrats.

C — The High Committee shall hold ordinary meetings once every month and may convene extraordinary meetings when necessary at the request of the Chairman or at the suggestion of the secretariat.

D — The duties of the Front shall be

- a. Leading and steering the Front's functions within the scope of the principles of the National Action Charter.
- b. Drawing up the necessary programmes to ensure popular supervision over state organs.
- c. Working to cement national unity and consolidate nationalist fraternity inside the country.
- d. Setting up specialised offices and committees, whether on standing or temporary basis, to take charge of political, economic, organisational, financial and information affairs and mass activities.
- e. Setting up both subcommittees to direct the Front's work in the provinces and local committees in administrative units where possible.

ARTICLE THREE

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HIGH COMMITTEE

A — The Chairman of the High Committee of the Front is the Secretary General or the Deputy

Secretary General of the Regional Leadership of the ABSP.

B — The Chairman presides at the ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the High Committee and speaks in the Committee's name.

C — The Chairman may designate one of the members of the Committee to take the chair.

ARTICLE FOUR

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE HIGH COMMITTEE

A — The Secretariat of the High Committee shall consist of a Secretary designated by the ABSP and the three members representing the ABSP, two members from the Iraqi CP and two members from the KDP.

B — The Secretariat shall draw up the agenda as well as the reports, suggestions and draft resolutions as the case may be and present the same to the Chairman who will ensure circulation to the members of the High Committee ahead of the meeting.

C — The Secretariat shall carry out its administrative and executive functions in conformity with the decisions of the High Committee and shall follow

up the implementation of the High Committee's decisions.

D — The Secretariat shall supervise the functions of the specialised offices and committees of the Front.

E — The Secretariat shall meet at least once a week.

F. The High Committee shall determine the duties and powers of the secretary.

ARTICLE FIVE

SPECIALISED OFFICES AND COMMITTEES, SUBCOMMITTEES AND LOCAL COMMITTEES

A — The High Committee shall determine the structure and functions of the specialised offices and committees which shall report directly to the High Committees Secretariat.

B — The High Committee shall determine the structure and terms of reference of subcommittees in provinces and other committees as specified in the last para of Article Two. These committees shall exercise their functions under the supervision of the High Committee and in accordance with its decisions and directions. The High Committee may delegate

to the Front's Secretariat some of the duties of supervising the sub-committees.

ARTICLE SIX

RULES OF ACTION IN THE FRONT

A — All parties to the Front shall carry out their function in the spirit of national coalition and on the basis of democracy that ensures to each of the parties to the Front the freedom to debate the Front's work and submit the sort of proposals it deems conducive to promoting the Front's work and development.

B — Any amendment to the Charter shall be made only with the consent of the parties to the Front — such an amendment being introduced to keep pace with developments in the advance of the revolutionary movement or with whatever new militant assignments that might come up in the course of this advance.

C — Any disagreement that might occur between parties to the Front shall be dealt with by means of democratic debate and rectifications of errors through fraternal and constructive criticism and

self-criticism stemming from the premise of concern in perpetuating and consolidating the coalition.

In all circumstances, parties to the Front must adhere strictly to the letter and spirit of the National Action Charter and keep clear of any conduct or call that has the effect of departing from the principles of the Charter and the rules of action within the Front.

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